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REVIEWS

SYED AHMED KHAN'S LIFE AND WORKS

G. F. I. Graham
BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. F. I. GRAHAM, B.S.C.

BEING

Extracts from English and Anglo-Indian Newspapers.

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PREFACE

OF

REVIEWS ON SYED AHMED KHAN'S LIFE AND WORK.

THE object of publishing this little pamphlet is to assist in removing the misunderstandings which contribute so largely to arouse ill-feeling and complicate political problems in India. It is surprising—and the views of Syed Ahmed Khan are an apt illustration—to find, when we penetrate below the turmoil of political agitation and ask sober thinkers on both sides, English and Native, what they have to say, how very little they differ. Were this recognised it would surely be a blessing for India. For Englishman and Native, weighted as each of them is by the difficulties of his position, are subject to form false impressions of one another. The former may treat with suspicion one who has risked his life in defence of the empire, or with ignominy a social dignitary who bears with him no outward sign of his position. And the latter, his prejudices fanned by an unscrupulous press, is apt to believe that the whole English race is opposed to his advancement, and to imagine that the Indian Government is treacherously seeking his detriment at the very moment when that Government prides itself most on its philanthropy or its tact. Among other things it is believed that the Anglo-Indian Press, tempted as it is to pour ridicule on the crude or bombastic schemes of noisy would-be reformers, and betrayed as it often is into accusing the whole native community of vices which apply only to certain sections of the miscellaneous group of nations in India,—the press, it is believed, is unwilling to render justice to those men or to look with favour on those causes which do most to help the real progress of the people. There are some too, who, stimulating sentiments of national hate for the purpose of selling their journals or gaining popularity, state that England herself has no benevolent feelings towards India, but is actuated solely by commercial greed. Both of these suppositions are disproved by the collection of reviews on *The life of Syed Ahmed* which is here brought together. [We see on the one hand the Anglo-Indian Press warm in its recognition of the worth of a really great

man, a man not of words merely but of deeds, one who combatting the prejudices of his countrymen has never bowed to popularity nor flinched before the obloquy of his opponents. And on the other hand we find a universal chorus of praise coming from independent organs, metropolitan and provincial, of the English press. No note of discord mars the harmony with which this account of a great Native of India is received.] Without the publication of a pamphlet like the present it would be almost impossible for those who live in India, to ascertain that the *Life of Syed Ahmed* had met with such a consensus of favourable opinion. And the fact should be encouraging to those whose wish it is to destroy as far as possible the barriers which alienate from one another the subjects of our Queen-Empress Victoria. And to Mahomedans it should act as an incentive to remove the disgrace on their nation that their greatest reformer and benefactor, whose work has been so keenly appreciated in England, should still meet with his bitterest opposition from members of his own community.

THEODORE BECK.

M E M O :

In February 1885 Syed Ahmed made an appeal to the Indian public for special Funds to build the Strachey Hall, urgently required for holding examinations and other meetings. He asked one-hundred gentlemen, European and Native, to contribute Rs. 500 each, the estimate for the Hall being Rs. 50,000, and he announced that the names of the generous donors would be inscribed on the walls of the Hall when finished. Up to the present (March 1886) no less than eighty-four gentlemen have responded to his call, amongst them no fewer than sixteen Englishmen. The building is being rapidly pushed forward and it is confidently expected that it will be completed in about a year. It will be a splendid monument of European and native generosity. Rs. 8,000 are still wanting to complete it and Rs. 220,000 for the erection of the other College buildings. Philanthropic men of all races are earnestly requested to contribute to this most desirable end.

March 1886.

REVIEWS.

,LIFE AND WORK OF SYED AHMED KHAN."*

ST. JAMES'S BUDGET OCTOBER 31, 1885.

Colonel Graham is right when he says that the youth of India owe to Syed Ahmed Khan, besides other practical benefits, the example of an honourable and useful life. Young Englishmen also, and those no longer young who may have imbibed the prejudice that Orientals are invariably deficient in sincerity and openness of heart, cannot do better than study the character and career of this descendant of the Central Asian conquerors of India. Syed Ahmed Khan is not to be confounded with the clever native gentlemen whose minds and morals are so painfully liable to collapse upon any strain or any temptation. Syed Ahmed does not belong to the "modern India" that, for the moment, has Mr. Lalmohun Ghose for its most conspicuous ornament. The founder of the Allygurh Mahomedan College does not speak the English tongue, and a life-long devotion to the interests of Indian Mahomedans has led him to neglect the study of party politics in this country. Syed Ahmed is an example of the singular phenomenon of modern time—the Asiatic Radical. He is an Eastern of the East; and this is what makes his perfect justness of mind, his zeal for the spread of knowledge, and his loyalty and truthfulness so interesting. Students of Indian history will recognize in these qualities the inheritance that the descendant of Syed Hadi of Herat draws from the fine race that produced Baber, and Akbar the Great, perhaps the most enlightened and tolerant ruler possessed of absolute power that the world has known.

Syed Ahmed was nineteen at the time of his father's death. The following year (1837) he entered the British service as shirishtehdar of the Criminal Department at Delhi; in 1841 he became munsif, or sub-judge, at Fatehpur Sikri; and in 1846 he wrote his "Archæological History of Delhi," a work that procured him the highly prized honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society. Syed Ahmed, then, had distinguished himself both as a scholar and an efficient and loyal officer before the

* "Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I." By Lieut.-Colonel Graham. (London : Blackwood and Sons. 1885.)

ST. JAMES'S BUDGET.

Mutiny; when, [though filling only the post of subordinate judge at Bijnore, his courage, devotion, and presence of mind saved the European residents from massacre. "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government," Sir John Strachey recently declared; "no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed."] Colonel Graham tells simply and well the exciting and pathetic story of the escape from Bijnore, in the grey of dawn, of the English—men, women, and children; the cavalcade of bullock-carts and elephants, guarded by only a few of Syed Ahmed's sowars. No one can read the tale without feeling the fear and anguish that the peril of hapless women and children put in the hearts of brave men who had never known terror for themselves.

[Syed Ahmed's unswerving loyalty, based on the conviction that British rule is on the whole beneficial to his country, gives great weight to the opinions he has set forth with much earnestness and eloquence in "The Causes of the Indian Revolt."] This work, published in Urdu in 1858, was in 1873 translated into English by Sir Auckland Colvin and Colonel Graham; and is still of great interest to Englishmen. [Syed Ahmed, who has himself sat twice in the Viceregal Council under Lord Lytton, and then again under Lord Ripon, has seen the realization of his desire that natives of India should be admitted into the Legislative Council. But there is still force in his complaint that the rulers and the ruled are divided by prejudices and misapprehensions on both sides, which in many instances are the result of the want of sympathy, or rather the want of good manners, in the superior race. We have here a purely sentimental complaint, it may be said; but we shall be falling into the very error the Syed deplores if we conclude that because for us, as a practical people, a "sentimental" grievance means one that is not worth thinking about, the same holds good for the people of India. Eastern races are what we call "sentimental;" and we may be sure that Syed Ahmed's grievance is more widely and deeply felt than any of the practical "abuses" and "burning wrongs" about which Mr. Lalmohun Ghose and the young men of his school are so eloquent.]

Syed Ahmed was fifty-two years of age when he paid his first visit to Europe. He has described this memorable voyage and the impressions produced upon him by the new world and all its wonders in some delicious letters, the naivete, humour, and dreamy philosophy of which recall some of the best pages in that most fascinating of books of travel, the "Memoirs of Baber." The letters, now translated for the first time by Colonel Graham, were originally written in Urdu for publication in the *Allygarh*

Institute Gazette; and we have a proof of the Syed's impartiality in the fact that, writing for his own countrymen, he is far more severe in his criticism of native shortcomings, and more enthusiastic in his praise of English civilization, than he allows himself to be when addressing Europeans. Nevertheless, we have here and there indications that the sensitive grave courtesy of the Oriental was roughly jarred and shocked by some bluntness in these highly civilized people of the West whose talents and virtues he was so ready to admire. Sometimes, indeed, this sensitiveness seems a little too highly strung. For instance, we have the Syed contemplating the Arabian coast from the deck of his steamer ; "and as I gazed upon it, I thought of God having caused our blessed Prophet to be born in it. Major Dodd, Director of Public Instruction, Nagpur, came up to me as I was gazing, and asked me if I had seen the land of the Prophet ? I said "Yes ; this is Arabia the Blest." A week later, when they are in the Mediterranean, the same English gentleman observes, "Now you are in Europe ; you have left the land of the Prophet and come into that of the Kaffirs." "Although," continues Syed Ahmed "what he said was not what I could say was bad—and what he said harshly was with reference to his fellow-countrymen—I did not like it at all, and was displeased. I thought to myself how uncivil and impolite such a saying was, and wondered how it should have been said by a mild and just director of public instruction. I waited a little; but thought I would not say this. I said, 'Do not say this, but say rather that I have come into the land of the People of the Book.' For hours after, however, I could not forget this saying of his ; and wondered what sort of disposition his was. At last I came to the conclusion that he had not said it from bigotry, but that it had escaped him by chance ; and I therefore erased from my mind all feeling of displeasure." Major Dodd, if he is still in existence, will probably go to his grave in wonder at his offence, and amazed at the magnanimity of the Syed's pardon.

The object of Syed Ahmed's visit to England was to conduct his son, Syed Mahmud, who had obtained the first scholarship of the North-West Provinces, given to Indian youths to enable them to complete their studies in England. Syed Mahmud (now the Honourable Syed Mahmud and a judge of the High Court in the North-West Provinces) must be said to have fulfilled his father's highest anticipations, and to have thereby repaid him for the fatigues and risks of his long journey. But Syed Ahmed Khan returned to India not only convinced of the advantages of a Western education, but of the difficulties and expenses that a long residence in England involved. The foundation of the Allygurh Anglo-

Oriental Mahomedan College was the outcome of the Syed's experiences and of his long-cherished zeal for the advancement of learning among the Mahomedans of India. Colonel Graham gives an interesting account of the energy and courage Syed Ahmed Khan required, both to collect funds and to obtain the support of Government for his arduous enterprise. He was, as a matter of course, attacked by the narrow-minded of his own creed and race, who declared that he was labouring to destroy the faith of Islam by spreading the poisonous science of the West amongst the young. In spite of opposition and misrepresentation, however, Syed Ahmed's resolution and perseverance have triumphed. The Allygurh Mahomedan College was opened on the 24th of May, 1875; although the foundation-stone of the present handsome building was only laid the following year by Lord Lytton, who made one of the most eloquent and sympathetic speeches that marked his viceregal career upon the occasion. Although especially designed to meet the case of Mahomedans who hesitate to avail themselves of Government instruction, the college is open to youths of all races and creeds. When Dr. Hunter visited Allygurh, shortly after the opening of the college, he found that among the 259 students there were fifty-seven Hindoos and several Christians and Parsees. "In going round the college," he says, "I was struck by the sight of the Shia and Sunni praying-places, side by side. Here, for the first time in the history of India, the Shia from Hyderabad in the south, and the Sunni from Delhi and the farthest limit of Bengal, come together for the common purpose of education ;live together, study together, play together—and pray peacefully a little apart." Thus, in carrying out the cherished dream of his life, has Syed Ahmed been true to his conviction that "all men are lineal brothers, being born of our common ancestor ; and all are brothers in religion who are believers in one God."

THE SCOTSMAN NOV. 14, 1885.

Almost, if not quite, the most distinguished of living Indian Musulmans is Syed Ahmed Khan, and some knowledge of his character and of the work of his life is essential to an intelligent understanding of Indian Mahomedanism and of the condition and prospects of the large Mussulman population who owe allegiance to the Queen. Colonel Graham has therefore done a public service in putting before the British public *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I.—(4)*. As the Syed is still alive and hale, he felt a little delicacy about permitting this sketch of his life to be published, but was prevailed upon to do so in the hope that it might stimulate the rising generation of his co-religionists to carry on his work

in the interests of Mahomedan education. There is nothing in this book which it is any breach of propriety to publish during the life of the subject, but in the circumstances it does not pretend to be a complete biography. It must be said, however, that Colonel Graham has done the work he set himself very efficiently, and he can hardly fail to impart to his readers some of his warm admiration for his friend. Syed Ahmed Khan is the head of a family which held high position at the Mogul Court. His father was offered the post of Prime Minister to Akbar II., but refused this and other honours. The post was bestowed on his father-in law, that is to say, the maternal grandfather of Syed Ahmed. Syed Ahmed himself was in his early years familiar with the Court at Delhi, and the recipient of Imperial favours, and it was against the wish of his family that in 1837, when in his twentieth year, he entered the service of the British Government. During his long life he has rendered faithful service to that Government, chiefly in a judicial capacity, though of late years, his great knowledge and ability have been utilised in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, of which he is an additional member. He rendered distinguished service during the Mutiny, and, in particular, by his courage and cool resource and the influence he possessed, he saved the lives of all the European residents at Bijnore.] For his services at that time, and his losses on account of his adhesion to the British cause, he received a pension for two lives and a *khilat* of honour. He was afterwards created a Companion of the Star of India. But that which will make his life chiefly memorable is his labour and achievement in the cause of Mahomedan education. He had not himself the advantage of an English education, and has never acquired great colloquial facility in that language, but he is a man of extensive reading and culture, and he early grasped the necessity of getting his fellow Mussalmans out of the rut of old orthodox Mahomedan education and made acquainted with the results of modern science and thought. He organised a society with the object of translating useful European works of science and literature into the languages of Hindustan, and later his exertions were crowned by the inauguration of the Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh, which has already been of great service to the Mussalmans of Northern India. Syed Ahmed, though he has always been a staunch and pious Mahomedan, has been denounced as a heterodox and mischievous person by the Mecca priesthood, but he has pretty well lived down obloquy, and is generally regarded as the head of the Mahomedan community of India. His literary works have been marked by learning, superior intelligence, and liberal thinking.] In 1869 he visited England with his two sons, who came to this country for their education, and his letters from Europe

reveal the singular shrewdness of his mind as well as his freedom from national prejudices. His eldest son, Syed Mahmood, is now a Judge in the High Court at Allahabad. This book is to a great extent composed of extracts from Syed Ahmed's writings and speeches, but we shall content ourselves with a single extract from a conversation of last year with Colonel Graham :—

" Our position in Egypt (said Syed Ahmed) reminds me of the story of the man who lived by picking up flotsam and jetsam on the Indus. One day he was sitting with some of his friends, when he saw something black floating down the river which looked like a black blanket. He swam out and seized it, but found to his horror that it was a black bear, which at once hugged him. The man struggled hard, and was going down, when his friends saw his struggles, and thinking that the blanket was too heavy for him, called out to him to let it go. ' All very well,' cried the despairing man, ' but the blanket won't let me go ! ' England," said Syed Ahmed, " is the man, and Egypt the bear."

" Among the mighty forces," says Colonel Graham, " which have been silently changing the aspect of affairs in India during the last forty years, Syed Ahmed Khan's name will, to future generations, occupy a conspicuous place," and readers of this sketch of the Syed's life and work will be inclined to endorse the judgment.

THE BOMBAY GAZETTE, Nov 14, 1885.

The history of India is nowhere more graphically told than in the biographies of the great official Englishmen who have spent their lives in its service. These are, after all, the true *mémoires pour servir* to which the historian must turn, and happily the supply of them is poor neither in quality nor in quantity. Yet the story would be inadequately told if the biographies whose scene is laid in India did not now and again take for their subject some eminent member of one of the native races, whose services in the cause of national advancement had earned for him the esteem of his countrymen and the confidence of the Government. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham's " Sketch of the Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I.," which has just been published by Messrs. Blackwood, is at least a contribution to the history of one important movement of our time. When we name the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh we bring into view the whole question of Mahomedan education, with the important political, social, and intellectual interests involved in it. This was really the life work of the eminent Mahomedan of the North-West whose story Colonel Graham has set forth, and it may fairly be said of him that but for his labours in connection with it the prospects—perhaps in some degree even

the present position—of the Mahomedans of India would be different from what they are. The only excuse for not writing the life of such a man would have been that the standing memorial of the Aligarh College made it unnecessary. We became interested in Syed Ahmed even before reading the title-page of his life. [He stands before us in the frontispiece, stern, lionine, and audacious, and we begin to wonder what would have been the occupation of such a man in the old fighting days, when the Moslem chivalry had as little thought for the educational necessities of their race as for anything within the range of human wants.] His biographer pronounces him to be, since the death of Sir Salar Jung, the foremost Mahomedan in India, as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability, and though the estimate is generous, it is not likely to be disputed. He belongs to a family that had served the Mogul Empire in various ways, and his own service under the British dates back nearly half-a-century. "Very timid, but clever," is the account that is given of him when in his former days he was recommended for promotion by the Commissioner of Agra. In the learned leisure of his early manhood he found time to write a work on the archæology of Delhi, which was honoured by translation into French, and which gained him the diploma of the Royal Asiatic Society. After this, however, [the traces of his archæological interest are faint, and he appears in his biography more as the man of action and initiative than as the cultured student of a buried past. The Mutiny gave him an opportunity of which he made worthy use. He was Subordinate Judge at Bijnore when the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached the station. Here he unquestionably rendered valuable service. Nothing more astute than his bargain with the rebels on that occasion could be found in the annals of diplomacy, Eastern or Western.] On behalf of the twenty Europeans, men, women, and children, who were shut up in the place, he undertook to formally make over the country to a rebel Nawab, on condition that the Europeans were allowed to go away unmolested, and he so drew up the transfer that it only conferred the country on the Nawab until the English returned to claim it. *A la guerre comme à la guerre*, and there was nothing in the stratagem which detracts from [Sir John Strachey's eulogy of Syed Ahmed:—"No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857; no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed."]

Syed Ahmed's devotion during the Mutiny made him at least a disinterested witness to the causes which had led to it. A book on the subject which he wrote a year afterwards was a few years ago deemed

worthy of translation by Sir Auckland Colvin and Colonel Graham. [The master thought of the work appears to be that] "an honest exposition of native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country with the full concurrence of its inhabitants, and not merely by the sword," and from this general proposition he derives the conclusion that the original cause of the outbreak was the non-admission of a native into the Legislative Council. This seems a very confident, short, and easy way of getting at the root of the matter.] Whether it is sound or unsound, the Government were not slow in supplying the defect which Syed Ahmed here indicates. His own nomination to the Viceroy's Legislative Council by Lord Lytton in 1878 and again by Lord Ripon two years later, was certainly a good guarantee that the governing Power should be in full knowledge of the wants and wishes of an important section of the inhabitants of the Empire. Some years before this, however, Syed Ahmed's naturally broad views had been broadened by a visit to England, whether he took his two sons, one of them the present Justice Syed Mahmood, of the North-West Provinces. The readers of Colonel Graham's book will not grudge the space which he has devoted to the republication of a very ingenuous and entertaining account of the travelling impressions which Syed Ahmed has left on record. The sight of Aden fills his mind with a sense of British power. Some scenes in Egypt prompt him to the thought that "the European sucks in a love of cleanliness and beauty in all things with his mother's milk; the people of other lands have it not." A Marseilles cafe surpasses, in his astonished gaze, the glory of an Indian Dewali illumination, and extorts from him the ejaculation—"How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such parades as could never have been conceived by Jamshed." Paris awakens even greater astonishment in his mind. Wonder increased as he walked along its streets, and it found expression in pious exclamations, which were repeated when the wonders of Versailles—"some heavenly, not earthly palace"—burst on his gaze. Naturally enough Syed Ahmed's consciousness of the fitness of things was offended by some of Horace Vernet's pictures—notably that in which the women of Abdul Kadir's family are being carried off, not too gallantly, by the soldiers of the most gallant of nations. The aspect of Paris life won his unreserved approbation. "The municipal arrangements," he wrote, "are so excellent that if municipal commissioners be required in Heaven the Paris Commissioners are undoubtedly the best fitted for the post." The composition of the Paris Municipality has so changed for the worse since Syed Ahmed was there that it is doubtful if any of them would accept the particular promotion to which he thinks

they are entitled. But he was a keener observer, and he was always ready enough to derive a lesson from the strange social phenomena which revealed itself to him in Europe. It was probably in the enthusiasm of travel that he wrote to his Aligurh friend :—“Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manner, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man.” The maid of all work who waits upon him in his lodgings in London buys the half-penny evening paper, and understands the jokes in *Punch*, and for that reason if she were to go to India and mix with ladies of the higher classes, she would look upon them as mere animals and regard them with contempt. Not an entirely satisfactory testimony, we should say, to the progress of polite learning amongst maidens of all work, yet still worth quoting as the impression which a certain Elizabeth Matthews made upon the mind of an observant Oriental.

These, however, are the eccentricities of travel rather than the abiding impressions which Syed Ahmed brought with him from England. He came back with a deeper conviction than ever of the need for education amongst his own community and amongst his countrymen at large. On his return to India he definitely committed himself to the work of educational revival. He had long since shaken off the old orthodox belief that the European sciences might, in spite of Lord Macaulay's protests, be as well taught in the vernacular as in English. It is not to be wondered at that his zeal was nowhere more misunderstood than amongst his co-religionists. Some called him an atheist, some believed him to be anti-Christ, and the priests at Mecca denounced him in terms not worth reproducing. This did not hinder his work, nor did it hinder the success of his great scheme for the foundation of an Anglo-Oriental College at Aligurh. Of his enthusiasm on behalf of this project there is little need to speak. One incident will illustrate it. Nearly four years ago, when on a visit to Sir Salar Jung, at Hyderabad, many of the nobles wished to give dinners in his honour, but he invariably excused himself, asking his would-be entertainers to send him the money that the entertainment would have cost. In this way he collected thirty thousand rupees at Hyderabad for the college. There is no need now to speak of the success of his work, except so far as the reminder may bring before the consciousness of the Mahomedan Community that one college will not educate a race of fifty millions, and that its work will only be half-done unless it serves as an example and a stimulus to the community to continue and extend the work successfully begun by Syed Ahmed.

THE ENGLISHMAN, Nov. 17th, 1885.

Colonel G. F. I. Graham's Life of Syed Ahmed Khan, (Messrs, Blackwood and Sons), of which we have received an early copy, is a work of very considerable interest. The author has been on terms of the greatest intimacy with the subject of the memoir for nearly a quarter of a century, and he has had ample materials to work upon. Starting with the idea of giving a sketch of his friend's notable career in the shape of a magazine article, Colonel Graham soon found that his work was outgrowing this design, and, having procured the Syed's reluctant consent, he resolved to expand it into book form "for the benefit of the youth of this country and the information of many people at home who are interested in India and its natives." The opening sentence of the work shows the esteem in which the Syed is held by Colonel Graham:—"Syed Ahmed Khan since the death of Sir Salar Jung, the foremost Muhammadan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability, was born at Delhi on the 17th of October, 1817." Consequently the 17th of last month was the Syed's sixty-eighth birthday, and with this record of his busy, useful, honourable life before us we may congratulate him upon what he has achieved, and upon the position of distinction to which he has attained.

The opinions of Syed Ahmed on the subject of the Mahomedan religion are well known to be broad and enlightened. In upholding his views, he has not only incurred displeasure at the hands of certain sections of his co-religionists, but has been exposed to misunderstanding among English students. The following passage will throw light upon this phase of his life :—

"In 1870 he published 'A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and subjects Subsidiary thereto,' in English, the publishers being Messrs. Trübner and Co. These Essays are twelve in number, and were translated by a friend. They show an extraordinary depth of learning, great toleration of other religions, great veneration for the essential principles of true Christianity, and should be attentively studied by all interested in religion. At present Mohammedanism is to the mass of the English nation an utterly unknown and bitterly calumniated faith—a sort of religious bogey, just as Bonaparte was a material bogey to our ancestors at the commencement of the present century. It is popularly supposed to be a religion of the sword, and is associated with all that is fanatic, sectarian, and narrow-minded. Readers who, like the majority of Englishmen, are still under this hallucination, will rise, I venture to assert, with very different ideas from an attentive perusal of Syed Ahmed's

Essays. Let them get and read them. Our author, of course, breaks many a lance with Sir William Muir, his intimate friend, over the latter's *Life of Mohammed*; and impartial critics will, I think, agree in giving their verdict on many points against that learned author. *Apropos* of Mohammedanism being accused of being a religion of the sword, Syed Ahmed writes:—The remark that “the sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam,” is one of the gravest charges falsely imputed to this faith by the professors of other religions, and arises from the utter ignorance of those who make the accusation. Islam inculcates and demands a hearty and sincere belief in all that it teaches; and that genuine faith which proceeds from a person's heart cannot be obtained by force or violence.”

It can hardly be said that Colonel Graham has made the very best use of his materials. Syed Ahmed's visit to England might surely have been turned to better account, and a good deal of padding from newspaper and other sources might well have been omitted. At the same time, the author has had to face the difficulty of writing the life of living man—one whom we may hope to have with us for many years to come—and he has, at least, discharged his duty with zeal and fidelity. If he has not given us a masterpiece of literary portraiture, he has at least shown to the world the life of an able and amiable leader of men,—a life that strikingly illustrates one of the best phases of modern Indian history.

THE HOME NEWS, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1885.

“Syed Ahmed Khan C. S. I. By Lieut-Col. G. I. F. Graham, B.S.C.” (Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.) On closing this sketch of the life and work of Syed Ahmed Khan, the reader will heartily agree with the observation made by the writer in his preface that its appearance at this juncture in the affairs of India is singularly appropriate. It will convey a lesson both to the natives of India and the ruling race which cannot be lost on either. [We see in Syed Ahmed Khan a Mahomedan of high aspirations, of noble patriotism, of great intellectual gifts, who has accepted and furthered British rule in India because he is honestly and sincerely convinced that in its perpetuation and expansion the true welfare of his countrymen lies. Furthermore, we see that by his loyal and unflinching support of the authorities he has been enabled to carry out a scheme from which a large body of his countrymen must obtain lasting benefit.] As Colonel Graham justly says, ‘since the death of Sir Salar Jung Syed Ahmed is the foremost Mohammedan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability [Syed Ahmed is, with all this, an Eastern to the backbone, upholding

with unswerving fidelity the traditions of his race, and showing himself by his courage and determination a worthy inheritor of the most admirable qualities of his ancestors.] He was born at Delhi in October 1817, and was nineteen years of age when his father died. Averse to a life of indolence, he entered the British service when in his twentieth year as shirishedar in the Criminal Department at Delhi; in 1841 he became the munsif at Fatehpur Sikri; and five years later he issued his 'Archaeological History of Delhi,' in recognition of the ability and research of which he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. At the time of the mutiny he was acting as a Subordinate Judge at Bijnore, and his courage and loyalty were instrumental in saving the lives of the European residents. Mr. Shakespeare, in a despatch written at the close of the mutiny, selects Syed Ahmed for special mention from a number of native officers who had rendered signal service, and declares that 'clear sound judgment and rare uprightness and zeal could scarcely be surpassed.' Syed Ahmed's personal losses at this period were very severe, his houses at Delhi having been pillaged and destroyed. Sir John Strachey is still more unqualified in his praises. 'No man,' he said in a speech at Allygurh, on December 11, 1880, 'ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed.' In 1858 Syed Ahmed put on record, in a work entitled 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt,' some of the most valuable and practicable suggestions to the rulers of India which they have ever received from any source. He stated boldly his opinions on the subject, and it is needless to say that they created a strong impression at the time among the governing class, although he did not hesitate to point out what he considered to be the blemishes of the administration to which the mutiny was fairly attributable. This book was not translated into English until 1873, when the work was accomplished by Sir Aucland Colvin and Col. Graham. Later experience has fully proved the accuracy of his contention in that work, that much of the bad feeling which existed then to a much greater extent than now, happily, between the natives and their rulers was due to a want of sympathy on the part of the latter. Sentimental grievances may not enter into the philosophy of those who think to rule by the hard and fast laws of political economy, but a graver mistake was never made than to disregard the sentiment of a subject people, and the magnitude of this error is much greater when that people is an Oriental one.] Syed Ahmed Khan has himself been twice in the Viceregal Council under both Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon, and has thus personally realised his desire.

that his fellow-countrymen should be represented in that important body, but he still looks forward hopefully to the day when a wider extension of that high privilege may become possible."—

THE GRAPHIC, Nov. 28TH, 1885.

"Lieut.-Colonel Graham writes *con amore*, but his subject is quite worthy of the feeling which he displays.—In its own line 'The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I.' (Blackwood), is undoubtedly one of the most important books of the season. 'The foremost Mohamedan in India since the death of Sir Salar Jung', though a man of old family, began as a clerk in a Delhi Government office. During the Mutiny he was Subordinate Judge at Bijnore; and with great adroitness managed to save the English residents from the rebels under the Nawab Mahmud Khan, and to send them to Meerut. His name, however, is chiefly connected with Aligarh, the 'Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College' at which place was his pet work. It was opened in 1872, a year before his son, educated at Cambridge, came home after eating his terms at Lincoln's Inn. [Syed Ahmed is sure that the chief cause of the Mutiny was the belief that we were going to meddle with religion 'a belief which could not have existed had there been a native on the Legislative Council.' Our land laws, involving forced sales (unknown under the most tyrannical of the Moguls) and the break up of village communities, were also in fault.] The book ought to be read by all Indian officials. The writer's position as member of the Legislative Council gives weight to words of which those who know India best will be readiest to acknowledge the value. There must have been something wrong in the outcry against Lord Ripon when such a man is found thoroughly endorsing his policy; and there was also something wrong in a member of the Madras Club going up to Sir C. Turner, who had walked in along with his great friend Syed Ahmed, and saying: 'No natives are allowed here.' Of special importance are Syed Ahmed's views on education. [Women's education, he is sure, will mend itself when that of men is improved. Government inspectors, he thinks, should be multiplied; their fewness lays them open to be humbugged with cooked lists of pupils, nay, sometimes with altogether bogus schools. The travel-notes and letters from abroad are fresh and interesting.]

THE STATESMAN, Nov. 28TH, 1885.

It is difficult without appearing to use language of exaggeration to express the pleasure and interest with which we have read Colonel Graham's account of the life and work of the venerable Moslem leader,

Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I.* The book is admirably put together in the first instance, and Colonel Graham deserves no little credit for it, simply as a literary performance. But there is hardly anything which an Englishman in India can do of more solid value, than this which Colonel Graham has done—namely, placing a lifelike and authentic portrait of an Indian worthy before the eyes of the English public. To anyone at home who has tried honestly to understand India, and with that end in view, has probably waded knee-deep as it were, through a vast sea of literature, made up almost exclusively of hearsay, inference, and analogy, the refreshment must be unspeakable of coming upon a work like this—a thoroughly genuine, self-revealing bit of autobiography. The career of Syed Ahmed Khan is so well-known in India, that there is little need for us to recapitulate here its chief incidents. The narrative, however, which Colonel Graham gives of the part he played in 1857, is probably not so well known as the later life of the Syed, but it furnishes another example of that remarkable courage and loyalty which, in our sore need, so many natives of India exhibited, and of which to this hour we have never given the recognition due. The story is too long a one to be inserted here, and it will be the less needful to do so, after reading our account of the book. There are, we hope, few of our readers who will not obtain and study it for themselves. One remark only we wish to make concerning it, and that is—that a history of the Indian Mutiny written by a native from a native point of view, is a work which educated India should not fail to supply before long. Up to the present time Englishmen have enjoyed a monopoly in the telling of it, and it appears to us to be in a special sense incumbent upon the educated people of India to redress the balance of historical truth in this matter, and to chronicle the many acts of courage, loyalty, kindness and compassion which stand to the credit of their countrymen during that stormy and terrible period. This is a duty they owe to their country, while, if done with any thoroughness, they would also render thereby a service to history, which they alone are in a position to render. Their knowledge of the languages, their acquaintance with native feeling, and their access to native society would place at their disposal a vast mass of information unknown and that must always remain unknown to English inquirers. Or, if a history of the Mutiny is too large a subject, surely it is possible to give the world a picture of the interior of Delhi during the memorable siege? But at present, despite the spread of English education, nothing or almost nothing, has been done by the people of India themselves to

* "The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I." By Lieut.-Colonel Graham, B. S. C. London; Blackwood and Sons: 1885.

dissipate the darkness in which they and their country are enshrouded for so many English minds.

But to return to Syed Ahmed Khan. As all India knows, the Syed, when still a young man, discerned that his co-religionists would be left altogether behind in the race of life, unless they could be brought to see and appreciate the advantages of English education. To make them see this, and to place it within their reach under conditions which they could accept, has been the one persistent aim of his long life. [He has worked at it with unwearied perseverance, and he has earned his reward. He has risen, by sheer force of honesty and independence of character, from a humble position in the service of the old East India Company, to that of Member in the Governor-General's Council; but he has achieved no less what he values far beyond any personal advancement to himself. He has inspired his co-religionists with that desire for education which he has ever sought to kindle in their breasts, and the Mahomedan College at Allygurh is a splendid evidence of his success.] The record of these things is to be found excellently told in Colonel Graham's book, but to us the most valuable portions of the book are the opinions of the Syed himself, on the English, on his own countrymen, on Marseilles, Paris, and London. Colonel Graham, for example, gives copious extracts from a most interesting work by the Syed, on "The Causes of the Revolt in 1857," from which we make the following extracts as possessing a practical value for the present time, in no respect less than for that when they were written:—"It is from the voice of the people only, that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us. This voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners—that they differed from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought. The security of the Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. It is to these differences of thought and of custom that the laws must be adapted, for they cannot be adapted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of man, and the neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent."]

That the Syed here speaks truth there is no doubt, but the Anglo-

Indian bureaucracy is not likely to be converted. In 1885 as in 1857, its first maxim in legislation is that bureaucratic devices are an infinitely safer guide than "the nature of man," and it rejects, as insulting to the dignity of the Government, the notion that laws proceeding from itself should adapt themselves to the circumstances and habits of those for whom they are intended. The second extract is on the part which the compulsory sale of lands for arrears of revenue had in provoking the outbreak of 1857, and like our former extract, is as applicable to the present time as to thirty years ago.

"Under former rulers, and in old times, the system of buying and selling rights in landed property, of mortgage, and of transfer by gift, undoubtedly prevailed. But there was little of it, and what little there was, was due to the consent and wishes of the parties concerned. To arbitrarily compel the sale of these rights in satisfaction of arrears of revenue, or of debt, was a practice in those days unknown. Hindustanee landlords are particularly attached to this kind of property. The loss of their estates has been to them a source of the deepest annoyance. A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a little kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one man as the head over all. By him, matters requiring discussion are brought forward, and every shareholder, in proportion to his holding, has the power of speaking out his mind on the point. The cultivators and the chowdries of the villages attend on such an occasion, and say whatever they have to say. Any matter of unusual importance is settled by the headmen of some of the larger villages. You have here, in fact, in great perfection, a miniature kingdom and parliament. These landlords were as indignant at the loss of their estates, as a king at the loss of his empire. But the Government acted in utter disregard of the state of things formerly existing.—Dating from the commencement of English rule to the present time, there is probably not a single village in which there have not been more or less transfers. In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous that the whole country was turned upside down I shall not here enter into the question as to how Government could ensure the payment of the land revenue, if it gave up the practice of sales, or its right to enforce sales as arising from the fact of the land being pledged for the payment of revenue. All that I now say is that, whether this system of sales was the result of necessity or of ignorance, it at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. I will only mention here that it is open to grave doubt whether the land is pledged for the payment of revenue. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land,

not upon the land itself."]

In this last important observation the Syed places his finger, as it were, upon the fatal mistake which, since we came into India, has blighted the agricultural prosperity of the country. "The claim of the Government," as the Syed truly remarks, "was upon the produce of the land, and not upon the land itself"; and the simplest common sense ought to have warned the authorities not to push the claims of the Government beyond this. Mr. Cotton, in his work on "New India," has some remarks on this subject, which we quote here on account of their "undesigned coincidence" with those of Syed Ahmed Khan :—

"There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to 'the State,' when the State is only another name for the people, but it is very different when the State is represented by a small minority of foreigners, who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land in the remuneration of their own servants, and who have no abiding place in the soil, and no stake in the fortunes of the country. It is because we have acted on this principle all over India, with the exception of the permanently settled districts, that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty. By vigorously asserting the false principle that a party of foreign occupiers who choose to call themselves 'the State,' have become the proprietors of the actual soil of India, we have destroyed all other rights of property therein, from the talookdar down to the ryot; we have subverted the entire organisation of the village communities; we have torn up by the roots the economical fabric by which the agricultural classes of the country were held together, and we have substituted in their place a costly and mechanical centralisation." Our last gigantic effort to destroy what had largely been preserved in these provinces under the Regulations of 1793 is now about to be entered upon, in the teeth of the united protests of all classes of the people. The men who are committed to the folly are as blind as all their predecessors have been, and five or ten years hence will come the deluge.

THE DUNDEE ADVERTISER, DECEMBER.

"The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan is the record of the career of a man remarkable in many respects. An East Indian by birth and lineage, and a Mohammanan in religion, he has been one of our Government's staunchest allies in all their endeavours to advance the cause of civilisation and progress generally in that vast British dependency. During the terrible mutiny Syed Ahmed Khan distinguished himself as a diplomatist between our forces and the chief rebels, and was thus instrumental in hastening the termination of that lamentable episode in the

history of India. His literary work has also been extensive, and his labours to extend the benefits of education and culture to his fellow-countrymen have been by the founding of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh, in a great measure crowned with success. In 1864 he was created an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society in recognition of his work the 'Archaeological History of the Ruins of Delhi'. Two years previous to the above date he commenced the first commentary on the Bible ever written by a Mohammedan. The difficulties incurred by him in writing this work may be imagined when it is borne in mind that he was ignorant of English, that all the accessible theological works treating of his subject were written in that language, and that he had to have these various books translated into Urdu and read to or by him. Undeterred by these difficulties, however, he worked on the commentary for years, and it has now been published in three volumes. Syed Ahmed visited England in 1869, and while in this country he met Miss Carpenter, well known for her philanthropy. The account here given of Syed Ahmed's visit to Europe is extremely readable, and exhibits to us a series of pictures of ourselves from an Asiatic point of view. These bring into prominence many customs and habits practised by us of which, being so familiar, we never think. The book altogether is a very interesting one, and is a worthy tribute to one who will, in the words of the author, 'in after ages be awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors to his country'."

THE TIMES OF INDIA, DECEMBER 4TH, 1885.

"The habit of writing biographies during the lifetime of the subject of them has become so confirmed, that a man or woman who has reached distinction or notoriety may feel a sort of unnatural comfort in knowing that on entering a book-seller's shop his or her life will not be offered for sale as the 'newest thing out.' Such being the case, it is not at all astonishing that Indian victims have been sought by the voracious book-master, and before long we may expect to find every delegate from every political association in India returning from the metropolis with a brochure in his pocket telling what he has done for India. A man of very different stamp from any of such delegates, and not one whose life is worthy of being recorded for its usefulness to the community, is Syed Ahmed Khan. His long life has been a notable one, and one that was not only well worth living, but one that was worth relating, and Colonel Graham, the compiler of the book just issued by Messrs. Blackwood and Sons, entitled 'The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan,' has done a public service in bringing before the notice of the English-speaking race the record of a most dis-

Distinguished native of India. In England, no less than in India, the book will be sure to find many readers. Syed Ahmed Khan comes of a good stock. His ancestors were men of mark under the Mogul Empire. His father, whose days had fallen during the closing years of that Empire when it only retained the semblance of authority, turned his thoughts to religious contemplation and became a recluse. And there can be little doubt that the devout sentiments of his father, and an early religious training, must have produced a considerable effect upon Syed Ahmed Khan—an effect which has lasted during a long and honourable life and has caused that uprightness and integrity [for which he has been formed.] He was born at Delhi in October 1817. At that time General Ochterlony was British Resident, and he and the Prime Minister and Syed Ahmed Khan's father were close allies, the General being in the habit of visiting them at all hours of the day and night. He was educated at home by his mother, but he learnt no English. At the age of twenty, and greatly against his relatives' wishes, he entered the British service as Serishtedar of the Criminal Department in the Sadr Amin's Office at Delhi. In February 1839 he was transferred to Agra as Naib Munshi or deputy reader in the office of the Commissioner of that division, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton. In December, 1841, he became Munsif or Sub-Judge of Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's Capital for ten years, now famous for its ruins, and was transferred to Delhi in January, 1846. He must have turned his attention before that to archaeology, for in 1847 he wrote his well known work the 'Archaeological History of the Ruins of Dehli.' This was translated into French, and long afterwards procured for him the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society.

During the critical time of the Mutiny, Syed Ahmed Khan's loyalty was put to the proof, and he was able to perform signal service in becoming the means of saving the English living in Bijnore from threatening death. The story is told in Colonel Graham's pages, and, interesting as it is, it forms but one episode out of a multitude of such which might be recorded of those anxious and terrible times. For his services during the Mutiny he received a special pension of Rs. 200 per month for his eldest son's life, and also various articles of clothing and jewellery. Syed Ahmed Khan has been of much service to his co-religionists in endeavouring to lift from them the odium which naturally fell on them after the Mutiny. He enlarged upon their cause, and he never ceased to urge that they had real grievances of their own, and he continually advocated bringing into closer connection the Government and the people. And he lived to enter the Viceroy's Council, and to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the success

of his pleadings and his labours. Before and after the Mutiny, and indeed during his whole life, Syed Ahmed Khan has taken the liveliest interest in the education of his co-religionists. [And in the reply of the Bombay Government to the memorial presented by the Anjuman-i Islam, and noticed a few days ago in these columns, many points may be found which have received no little support from Syed Ahmed Khan. 'His idea was' says Colonel Graham, 'that the education imparted to the mass of Mahomedans was utterly inadequate to the spirit of the age—consisting, as it did, of only logic, philosophy, Arabic literature, and religion. Geography, the modern arts and sciences, and recent histories of nations, were sealed books to them.'] Syed Ahmed's motto is 'Educate, educate, educate.' All the socio-political diseases of India may, he once said to Colonel Graham, 'be cured by this treatment. Cure the root and the tree will flourish.'] In 1858, therefore, he had made his first attempt at education by opening at Moradabad a school specially for the study of modern history.— And his zeal in education has been so great, that he has been engaged in a commentary on the Bible. Three volumes have been published : the first treating of the Bible as a whole; the second commenting on Genesis up to the eleventh chapter ; and the third dealing with the Gospel of St. Mathew, now in the press. Syed Ahmed Khan became member of the Council in 1878 when Lord Lytton was Viceroy. The work he did there is too recent and too well known to be dwelt on here. Colonel Graham gives long extracts from his speeches, showing the statesmanlike view he took of the various questions that were brought before him. The most valuable of these speeches is probably that upon his bill for compulsory vaccination.

Like many other natives of enlightenment Syed Ahmed Khan entertained a great desire to travel to Europe and become acquainted with the Western peoples at home, and witness their manners, and mark the wonderful improvements they have introduced to ameliorate the conditions of life. He set out on his travels on the 1st April 1869, but though inaugurated on such a day the result of his experiences entirely belied the inauguration. He kept a record of his journey in letters to his friends, and his shrewd remarks and quiet humour form most entertaining reading. Like many others before him, and like many others who will come after him, Syed Ahmed Khan became acquainted with sea-sickness, and he tells how he became 'very ill, though not actually sick.' 'The English were astonished at my being unwell on such a lovely sea, and said, "None of us are ill." I noticed, however, that some were—a few very ill indeed!' Of Egypt he makes the following observation :— 'From the cursory view

of Egypt which I got I was astonished. I have seen Malwa, which is thought to be the richest country as regards crops in India ; but Egypt beats it into a cocked-hat.' On landing at Marseilles he was delighted with the shops. The Dewali illuminations in India were nothing to them. . . . As I had never before seen any city so brilliant,—ay, not even the residences of Indian nobles are so—I was completely overcome, and wondered how it all was done.' Other shops were so brilliant that he thought that marriages must be going on in them, but he 'found out afterwards that they were merely public refreshment houses or *cafes*, and that there were great numbers of them. How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such parades as could never have been conceived by Jamshed!' Among the other wonders at Marseilles were the electric bells in the hotels upon which he experimented with much satisfaction himself. In Paris he was overpowered with what he saw. 'There is no difference,' he says, 'in Paris as regards light between the day and night. The police arrangements seemed admirable—well-dressed, silent, and good-looking constables being stationed every two hundred yards.' And he remarks that 'the municipal arrangements are so excellent that if municipal Commissioners be required in heaven, the Paris Commissioners are undoubtedly the best fitted for the posts !' Crossing over the Channel he again was subject to the ills that attend the journey, but one of his companions, he relates, received a basin from a kind friend, and in offering thanks, he had just got out the word 'Thank,' when he was sick, and the 'you,' was never said ! Nor in London did he cease to find very many things to interest him or to evoke from him quaint remarks, but these must be sought for in the book. We close with two extracts showing the manner of life and the personal appearance of Syed Ahmed Khan as he now is. 'He has now resided for many years in his comfortable house in Allygurb, which was purchased and furnished for him in European style by his son, the Hon. Syed Mahmud. Here he entertains his numerous guests who visit him from all parts of India—Mahomedans, Sikhs, Hindus, and Englishmen.' The doors are always open. The whole atmosphere is redolent of literature.' 'He is of middle height and of massive build, weighing upwards of nineteen stone. His face is leonine—a rugged witness to his determination and energy. If, however, rather stern and forbidding when at rest, it lights up genially when speaking, reflecting the warmth of heart which he so largely possesses."

THE BIRMINGHAM DAILY GAZETTE, 11TH DECEMBER, 1885.

Colonel Graham has done a good work in giving to the English public an account of the most influential and able of our fellow-subjects in India.

Born at Delhi in October, 1817, Syed Ahmed Khan was nearly forty when the Mutiny broke out. He was at that time stationed at Bijnore, having been posted to that station as subordinate judge. His conduct during this time was most noble and manly, and it was by his cleverness that the lives of the ladies, gentlemen, and children stationed at Bijnore were ultimately saved, "No man," said Sir John Strachey in a speech made at Allygurh in December, 1880, "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857; no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed." For his loyalty during that terrible time he received a special pension of Rs. 200 per month, and Mr. Shakespeare whose life he had saved, wrote to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand, giving a full account of the part Syed Ahmed had taken at the time :—

On every occasion of special danger and difficulty, such as when the jail broke, and I found it advisable to throw the treasure down the well—and when the Sepoys of the 29th N. I., passing through from Saharanpore to Moradabad, and men of the same corps subsequently sent to our aid, had to be most cautiously dealt with—on all and each of these occasions the officers in question were ever ready, and behaved with great discretion and courage . . . but if I were required to draw a distinction, I should do so in favour of Syed Ahmed Khan, whose clear, sound judgment and rare uprightness and zeal, could scarcely be surpassed.

In 1858 Syed Ahmed published a pamphlet entitled "The Causes of the Indian Revolts." It was written in Urdu, but was not translated and published in England until 1873. [Syed Ahmed did not think that the rebellion of 1857 was brought about either by Russian intrigue or by the annexation of Oudh, though he is of opinion that all classes were irritated at its annexation. Neither does he think that the Mohammedans had been for a long time conspiring a "simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith." In his opinion "the original cause of the outbreak was the non-admission of a native into the Legislative Council." He then classes under five heads the various causes which led to the outbreak.

(1) Ignorance on the part of the people; by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

(2) The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

(3) Ignorance on the part of the Government of the conditions of the people, of their modes of thought and of life, and of the grievances through

which their hearts were becoming estranged.

(4) The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good government of Hindustan.

(5) The bad management and disaffection of the army.

I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by the people, and that this misconception hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council the people would never have fallen into such errors.

This was set right when the Government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, when non-officials, natives and Europeans, were introduced into the legislative councils at the Presidencies and into the legislative council of the Viceroy. The most interesting part of the work is that which deals with Syed Ahmed's pamphlets, from which copious extracts are given, and we are most grateful to Colonel Graham for placing before us the writings of a man whose influence for good has and will continue to be felt throughout the length and breadth of our Indian Empire. We would gladly quote further from his works, but our space is limited; we can only advise our readers to study the life of Syed Ahmed Khan for themselves, and they cannot fail to respect the man "who, since the death of Sir Salar Jung, has become the foremost Mohammedan in India."

MORNING ADVERTISER, DECEMBER 12TH, 1885.

Syed Ahmed Khan is one of the living proofs of the benefits conferred upon the native populations of India by the British rule. Colonel Graham, in his opening chapter speaks of him as 'since the death of Sir Salar Jung, the foremost Mahomedan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability,' and every page contains proof that this praise is not overstrained. Syed Ahmed was born at Delhi in 1817. His father was a high official in the Court of the then Mogul Emperor, in whose palace he was brought up, and from whom he received great kindness. Up to the time of his attaining his twelfth year he was educated by his mother, who as appears from another chapter in this book, was one of those Mahomedan ladies who, though not educated in the European fashion, are taught in a way of their own, and not unfrequently speak two or three languages, and possess a knowledge of much Oriental poetry. In 1837 he entered the British service in a modest position in the Criminal Court of Delhi, rising rapidly, and making a name for himself in the service by the publication of a

legal work. In 1847 he came to the front more distinctly by the publication of 'Archaeological History of the ruins of Delhi' which attracted no attention here until it was translated by a French Orientalist, M. Garcin de Tassy, when it procured for him the honour of election to the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1855, he was transferred in the capacity of Subordinate Judge to Bijnore, where he was when the mutiny broke out. Syed Ahmed Khan remained faithful, and ultimately succeeded in saving the whole of the English residents—ladies, gentlemen, and children. Three-and-twenty years afterwards Sir John Strachey said to him that 'No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857; no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed.' In the course of this business Syed Ahmed Khan, who, though he had been decorated by the Emperor of Delhi with the title of 'master of war,' was pre-eminently a man of peace, behaved with equal bravery and discretion. Mr. Shakespeare, the Magistrate at Bijnore, raised by his assistance a body of 100 Pathan Horse. When in process of time those men were tempered with by the rebels and joined Mahmud Khan in his attack on Bijnore, he went unarmed to the latter, and in an interview with him adroitly arranged for the escape of the whole of the European residents, he formally engaging to make over to the Nawab the whole country. Leaving the Nawab he went back to Mr. Shakespeare, obtained assent, and then returning once more brought the Nawab back to ratify the undertaking. What was more, he prepared the treaty in Persian, couching it in such terms that the rebels gave up their prisoners in return for a cession of the country 'until the return of the English.' More than this, he procured funds from the Nawab, elephants and a Bullock cart for the transport of the entire party. Syed Ahmed stayed behind at Bijnore, pretending to serve the Nawab, but really working for his English masters, and when after a time the Nawab was defeated he became administrator of the district. These were by no means the whole of his services, the tale of which is told by Colonel Graham with some minuteness. As a reward for them a special pension of 200 rupees *per mensem* (£240 a-year) was awarded during the lives of himself and of his eldest son, together with certain garments of honour much prized by Mussalmans. When the rebellion was finally crushed he wrote in Urdu a pamphlet on its causes, which was translated into English, in 1873, by Sir Auckland Colvin, and which contains many suggestions for improving the relations between the conquered and the conquering races, some at least of which have been adopted. It is, however, as a promoter of education amongst his co-

religionists that Syed Ahmed will best be remembered. In pursuance of his schemes he visited England in 1869, and after his return devoted himself to the work in India. The diary of his visit to this country, which is given with tolerable fulness by Colonel Graham, is unquestionably the most amusing part of the book, and certainly presents the Khan in a most amiable light. Himself a devout Mahomedan he has the most complete tolerance for all other forms of faith—carrying this quality so far as on one occasion to be seriously angry with one of his English friends for describing Christian countries as 'lands of the kaffir'—i.e., infidel which they certainly would be in the eyes of less tolerant men of his faith. The fruit of his labours has been the formation of an Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh, where some hundreds of lads are educated in the languages and learning of their own country on the English public school system, with, of course, the modifications rendered necessary by differences of climate and national manners. By way of crowning honour Syed Ahmed was made a member of Viceroy's Council by Lord Lytton in 1878, and was continued in that position by Lord Ripon in 1880. Since his retirement he has lived at his home at Allygurh, watching over his beloved College, and leading the most purely literary life conceivable. He still lives, and with his temperate habits and active life he is likely to do so for many years to come. His friends seem, from Colonel Graham's book, not merely to appreciate him, but to entertain a positive enthusiasm for him, not the least striking proof of which is the appearance of this Biography itself."

THE HOMeward MAIL. DECEMBER 14TH, 1885.

"One might object to this book that it is not a finished piece of literary work. It is, as the author himself says in his dedication to Mr. C. A. Elliott, a sketch—and a sketch of which the outlines are not quite as clear as they might be. But, for all that, the book is well worth reading, and the author did well to write it, even though the subject of the biography is still living.

Syed Ahmed (to use the author's mode of spelling) is in many ways a remarkable man; and the usefulness of the book at this present time seems to me to consist in these two things—firstly, that he is a splendid example of the native Indian official of the very best type, an example which it is wholesome to contemplate while the Indians are occupying so much of the public attention; secondly, that his life and his writings throw a clear and most serviceable light upon the vexed question between the people of India and their English rulers whose acquaintance I made in 1878, when he was

lative Council—is precisely the sort of man whom an English administrator in India would desire to have by his side, especially in times of danger and of difficulty, being well born, learned, able, loyal, perfectly genuine and outspoken. [A devout Mahomedan by conviction as well as by birth he is no bigot, but acknowledges what is good in other creeds. An attached subject of the British Crown, he is not blind to the defects in British Government. Having spent his youth and maturity in useful and honourable services to the State, he has devoted his declining years to the moral and intellectual welfare of those in whom he naturally takes the deepest interest—the Indian Mussulmans.]

[My own experience has taught me—and a comforting experience it is—that, among Indians, the men of good birth, of thought, of real cultivation, are those in whom we could most rely, and with whom it was most pleasant to act; and the case of Syed Ahmed illustrates this rule very plainly.] as those, who read Colonel Graham's volume may see for themselves. The Syed's life may be summarised as follows:—Descended from Herati ancestors, grandson on both sides of nobles holding high office under the Emperor of Delhi; he himself in early youth was an attendant at the decaying Court, but soon entered the British service, and at the age of twenty-four became a Judge of the lowest grade. Nine years later he attained the rank of Principal Sudder Ameen, or what is now called a Subordinate Judge, and in this rank he was serving when the mutiny broke out in 1857. His services at this crisis were as distinguished as they were faithful, and for these services he was rewarded with a khilat, and a pension descendible to his eldest son, and afterwards was made a C. S. I.

Syed Ahmed, who had from the first varied his official labours with good literary work, visited England with his two sons in 1869, and remained there about a year and a half, placing his younger son at Cambridge. This young man, it may be mentioned, was afterwards called to the bar, and proving himself the worthy son of a worthy father has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of the North-West Provinces. In 1876 Syed Ahmed retired from judicial appointment, having shortly before that achieved the great object for which he had been strenuously working—the opening of the Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh. In 1878 he was appointed by Lord Lytton a member of the Legislative Council, and in 1880 he was appointed for a second term of two years by Lord Ripon. During later years he has written much earnestly and successfully to vindicate the character of his co-religionists, whom he thought unfairly accused of disaffection, in consequence, as he maintained, of an entirely erroneous view of the tenets and

principles of Islam. The chief opponents whom he had to encounter in this field were Sir William Muir and Mr. W. W. Hunter. It would be quite beyond the scope of the present article to enter upon such a discussion, and it is enough to say that Syed Ahmed's arguments on this matter, and his remarks on the Wahabi sect are deserving of the most careful consideration.

I observe at the outset that one way in which advantage might be drawn from this book was by using the light which it affords with regard to social and, I might add, official intercourse between the Indians and the English residents in India. Syed Ahmed in his pamphlet on the 'Causes of the Indian Revolt,' written in 1858, but not published in English garb till 1873, when, as he said, his opinions were unchanged, had called attention to certain weak points in the English modes of dealing with the natives, and among others, he reproached our countrymen with a want of kindly feeling and urbanity towards the Indians. It does not appear that he in his own person had experienced anything of the sort, and in writing to a native correspondent, while he was himself in England, he makes the following remarks. After saying that he had, since his arrival, seen a good deal of society in every grade, he goes on, 'the result of all this is that although I do not absolve the English in India of courtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. Do you look upon an animal as a thing to be honoured? do you think it necessary to treat an animal courteously? You do not. We have no right to courteous treatment.' &c.

No moderate Englishman would dream of putting the case so high as this, and the writer doubtless expressed himself strongly—in a letter which was intended for publication—with the view of stimulating thought among his countrymen, but it is quite probable that some feeling of the sort may be present, though undefined, in the breasts of both classes. And Syed Ahmed himself says, in another place, 'Hindustanis have queer ideas about the English, and the English have other ideas about the Hindustanis. There are no doubt errors on both sides.' I have myself considered the matter a good deal, and my conclusion is that the truth is to be found in these two notions—first, that the English, as a nation,

are not remarkable for superficial politeness to people of other races, and that they are not likely to show it in a special degree to those with regard to whom there is the feeling of unconscious or instinctive superiority which Syed Ahmed himself so vividly describes; second, that the attitude of the Englishman is in most cases the direct and natural consequence of the attitude taken by the native. At the same time I would conscientiously and firmly maintain that where the English functionary in India meets with a native of India—whatever his station—who puts a first value on himself, and so claims the courtesy which is his due, that courtesy will not be wanting. Innumerable instances are on record—many within my own knowledge—of mutual and firm friendships between Englishman and Indian to the great happiness and advantage of both.]

If, as recent expressions in a work by Mr. Cotton seem to indicate instances of the kinds are growing less frequent in Bengal, where Mr. Cotton's experience has been acquired, we can only ascribe it to two causes—one, that the officials are not, perhaps, what they were; the other, that people's minds have been unsettled by an injudicious and disturbing policy."

(Sd) LOUIS S. JACKSON.

THE ACADEMY. 19TH DECEMBER, 1885.

Whether or not we subscribe to the doctrine that "England is a Muhammadan power," we must at least admit that no fair means ought to be neglected by which she can procure the confidence of the Muhammadan world. The age of crusades has long gone by; on the other hand, Islam itself is showing an aggressive spirit. The old-fashioned Muslims are opposed to what we call civilisation and progress, though there is a party among them which takes more liberal views. That party is represented not only in Turkey, but in parts of India too. It is of the utmost importance to this country, which professes to be the mistress of the largest of Muhammadan populations, that there should be a clear understanding on this subject. On the decision of the question, "Whether civilisation and Islam are compatible?" depends a vast future—that of fifty millions of human beings. Is this population to become more and more hostile? Are its leading members to sympathise with bigotry and backwardness elsewhere—to play into the hands of our numerous foes in other countries? Because, if so, the sooner England prepares for trouble the better. Important light is thrown upon the matter by Col. Graham's *Syed Ahmed*, a book which shows the extraordinary spectacle of "Occidentalisation" being carried out by a sheikh of Arab blood, ignorant of the English language. Pan-Islamism—by which we are to understand a

fusion of fanatical obstructivism with official corruption—is being vigorously opposed in India by an ex-official of warm religious convictions. Ought we not to give a sympathetic welcome to so unexpected an ally?

Convinced that this is so, Col. Graham has given to the English public a clearly-written and seasonable book on the life and work of one whom he has honoured himself by knowing and assisting long and intimately. Sayid Ahmed—to give the name its true transliteration—was a member of the subordinate judiciary in Hindustan for thirty-seven years, retiring on his pension in 1876. Long before that time came he had been busy—so far as his other duties allowed—in the twofold work of elevating the moral and social level of his co-religionists, and promoting a *rapprochement* between the alien government and all classes of the natives. With these objects in view he had put forth numerous pamphlets, had visited England, entered one of his sons at Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn, and finally, set on foot a Translation Society and a college at Ghazipur. Transferred to Aligarh, he founded there a Literary and Scientific Society, and crowned the scheme by opening an Anglo-Vernacular College. The beginnings of these things were small, feeble, and exposed to much opposition from the old school of Muslims. Their chief objections to the existing system of state education—and they were obstacles to all rational instruction, and of greater vitality and practical force than English readers might suppose—were founded on the purely secular character of the teaching, the corrosive effect of English learning on belief, and the other usual conservative prejudices. By a spirit of compromise, the Sayid undertook to provide a somewhat different education, which, while still taking its stand on the principles of progress, should win the confidence of moderate Muslims by being indigenous, and seeming to acknowledge their objections as above noted. Nevertheless, in reality, the general ideal was taken from English public schools; in one respect going a step farther by discouraging home-boarding, and removing the pupils as far as possible from home influences, which were boldly treated as antagonistic. At the same time, instruction was to be conveyed in Oriental languages, and in close obedience to the creed of Islam; and this concession proved sufficient, masking, so to speak, the essentially Liberal character of the movement, which was the reverse of "Conservative," in the strict sense of the word. As stated by one of its early friends,

"the main object of the institution is to impart liberal instruction to the children of the better classes of the Mussulman community; to make them regard English education as necessary to a gentleman, whether of Western or Oriental birth."

The syllabus was to comprehend English and Arabic, Moral Sciences, Natural Philosophy, and Muhammadan Jurisprudence (including Theology, which is its basis).

Thus was the issue raised—the great issue whose decision is to involve, perhaps, the destiny of Islam. It is compatible with the faith to recognise "open question," and to treat the problems of mind and matter from the point of view of experience? Many men, respectable by their years and earnestness, said "No" and thus threw on the Saiyid and his associates the burden of proof.

The practical demonstration of the succeeding ten years sufficed to convince all those who were open to conviction. Supported not only by the most distinguished Liberals among the Hindu leaders, and the more enlightened among the British governors, but—what was more conclusive—by Sir Salar Jung, prime minister of the Nizam, by the Nawab of Rampur, and by prominent sons of Islam from Patiala on the Satlaj to Dacca in Eastern Bengal, the college took root and flourished rapidly. In the words of the most distinguished of modern Anglo-Indian literary men—Mr. W. W. Hunter—the college
 "solves both the problems of Muhammadan education. It now only provides instruction for those of the North West Provinces, but it stands forth as an example to all India of a Muhammadan institution which effectively combines the secular with the religious aspects of education; and, while recognising the special spiritual needs of the Muhammadan youth, bases its teaching on the truths of Western science, and is, in tone and tendency, thoroughly loyal to our Queen. This is a noble work for a mortal to have done upon earth."

The present Principal of the Aligarh College is Mr. Theodore Beck, a distinguished Cambridge man. He has written a description of the institution, which forms an appendix to Col. Graham's work. From this we learn that the interior quadrangle, when completed, will be of the vast dimensions of 1004 ft. by 576. It will be divided by a row of buildings combining hall, library, museum, and lecture rooms. At either end will be groups of class-rooms, with dining-halls and mosques. The principal, head master, and professor of English, have detached residences on the grounds of one hundred acres which surround the college. There are six other houses for the Hindu boarders—for the college is catholic. There is a "Union Club" with a debating-hall, library, and reading-room. Entering the main building, one finds that the chief lecture-room was erected by two Nawabs of the Deccan in honour and memory of a deceased uncle. Neighbouring rooms of the same kind commemorate the

names and the beneficence of four other Muhammadan founders, one of whom has built two more. The boarding-house for Muhammadan students forms the main part of the quadrangle, each set of rooms being large, airy, and private. Finally, a theatre for examinations and grand convocations is in course of erection, and is to be named after an European benefactor, Sir J. Strachey. The names of Muir, Hunter, and Elliott are also inscribed in testimony of benefactions. There are at present 255 students in the college. It is impossible to foresee the ultimate limits. Already the movement has done away with English contempt on the one hand, and with Muslim fear and pride upon the other. It is not merely a step in education, it is the commencement of an epoch.

Thus has this wise and earnest man lived to see the good of his labours, accomplishing in a great measure the revival which he undertook to bring about, and preparing the way for a *modus vivendi* between conquerors and conquerors, without compromising the self-respect of his own society, or failing to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. It is surely not because he has so far succeeded, and that by gentle means, that he is to be considered less worthy of honour than the ordinary run of public men, the back place-men, the hireling agitators, or the traders in hereditary hatred.

H. G. KEESEY.

THE EUROPEAN MAIL. DECEMBER 24TH, 1860.

Since the death of Sir Salar Jung it is generally admitted that the foremost of our Hindu-Mahomedan fellow-subjects of the Queen is Syed Ahmed Khan who was born at Delhi as long ago as 1817. He is emphatically a man whose long and honourable, and altogether blameless, life, exercised, and exercises still, a highly beneficial influence over a great part of native public opinion in India, and the faithful, almost photographic, portrait given in these deeply-interesting pages of his career, his acts and 'views' generally, is unquestionably of real value as well as of exceptionally great interest. Syed Ahmed's early days are full of interest, and the anecdotal and historic matter interspersed will be new to the reader, we think. In an early chapter we have a most important and highly suggestive exposition of Syed Ahmed's own views on the cause of the Indian Mutiny. He tells us that Russia had nothing at all to do with the uprising, that the annexation of Oudh was not a cause, but that the non-admission of a native to the Legislative Council of India had very much indeed to do with the explosion. He also cites the general dislike felt to missionaries and mission schools, and declares that a general distrust of the rulers was common at the time to the mass of the people. Justice is done to the loyal Mahomedans, too much ignored officially, we fear, and, after casting

forth from these pages a good deal of clear political light, the writer gives a most entertaining and instructive description of Syed Ahmed in England. The illustrious visitor was lodged in Mecklenburgh Square, W. C., and in the letters of Syed Ahmed from England we have a series of delightful pictures of the way in which things European, and particularly things English and Neapolitan, appeared to him. His impressions of Marseilles, and especially those of London, are among the best things of the kind [we remember. It is always to see ourselves as others see us, and the observations of this really cultured, gentle, and good, but originally thinking Mahomedan, possess, to our mind, very great intrinsic value, and form reading equally profitable and pleasant. A considerable portion of the volume, which is one of more than 400 pages, is devoted to events that occurred after the return of Syed Ahmed to India, and to his famous reply to Dr. W. W. Hunter's 'Indian Mussulmans' wherein that work is severely handled and undoubtedly much useful light cast on the true nature of the Wahabi missionaries. The later pages are brought up to recent events, and at last we find Syed Ahmed himself in the Council, and winning golden opinions from all who knew him aright. The book is embellished with a very characteristic and venerable looking portrait of this true Indian worthy, and we can add that, in preparing this 'life', Colonel Graham has undoubtedly achieved great success, and produced what will be held as the standard biography of a most remarkable man."

THE LIVERPOOL COURIER, DECEMBER 26TH, 1885.

Lieutenant-Colonel Graham has made a very interesting and readable book about one of the most distinguished of living Mahomedans. The honourable and laborious career of Syed Ahmed Khan has been traced from his earliest years, and a picture has been presented which should serve as a stimulus to the rising generation in India. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham has shown how a native gentleman of high and distinguished family, but poor, has raised himself from the lowest rung of the official ladder to the highest, and has educated himself without the great advantage of knowing English to become, as he now is, the foremost Mahomedan of his day in India. Syed Ahmed was born at Delhi in 1817, and when he was about twenty years of age entered the British service, a step which was regarded with much disfavour by his relatives. He soon developed a taste for literature, and this he contrived to cultivate in his leisure. He devoted himself to archaeological pursuits, and he published a history of the ruins of Delhi, which met with high appreciation in Europe. His researches on Indian antiquities won for him the distinction of a fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society. He has since given the world several works which have

won for him great distinction. Syed Ahmed was a true friend of England in the perilous time of the Mutiny. "No man," says Sir John Strachey, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, "ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857." The long and honourable career of Syed Ahmed was crowned by Lord Lytton making him a member of the Viceroy's Council. [Syed has been a great social and educational reformer; and has been an advocate of Indian affairs being more prominently brought before the British Parliament. He sent his son to Cambridge to be educated, and accompanied him himself to see what measures were necessary for the establishment of a similar college in the North-West Provinces of India, and it was due to his efforts that the Anglo-Oriental College was founded at Allygurh. His writings and example have effected a wonderfully wholesome change in Mahomedan ideas throughout India.] ✓

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. DECEMBER 1885.

[Syed Ahmed Khan, the liberal-minded Mahomedan who did much good service to the English cause in the mutiny, and has since done so much for the education and improvement of his own fellow-religionists, is happily still alive, but it was a wise and excellent idea in Colonel Graham to write an account of his life now, because the next ten or fifteen years are likely to be very important ones for the Mahomedans of India, and the sketch of such a life would be certain to have a beneficial influence upon the development of Mahomedan parties at such a time. The biography which he has just published is calculated to interest much wider circles than these. [Syed Ahmed is in many respects a remarkable and attractive figure, and his opinions and plans will always claim the reader's attention.]

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION IN AID OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND EDUCATION IN INDIA.

No. 180, December 1885.

"An interesting record of the Life and Work of this venerable and distinguished Mohammedan gentleman has just been published by his friend and admirer, Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. I. Graham. Some of our readers will doubtless remember the visit of the Syed and his two sons to England in 1869, a visit undertaken at a time when but few of his nationality had ventured to cross 'the black water,' and which was attended with such important results, in as much as it led the way to the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh. The idea had undoubtedly been in Syed Ahmed's mind for years, but it was not until his return from England—his heart and mind quickened by all that he had

seen of western civilization—that he took active steps towards raising fund for the establishment of a College which should be independent Government, and which should meet the wishes and supply the educational wants of the members of the Mohammedan faith.

[The College was opened on the 24th May, 1875, on which occasion Sir William Muir delivered an address; and on the 8th January, 1877, the foundation-stone of the College buildings was laid by His Excellency Lord Lytton. The scheme was liberally supported, not only by members of Syed Ahmed's creed, but by philanthropic Englishmen and broad-minded Hindus; Lord Northbrook having contributed Rs. 10,000 for founding Scholarships; Sir William Muir, Sir John Strachey, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and many others having been liberal contributors; while the late Maharajah of Puttials gave no less a sum than Rs. 58,000; the Maharajah of Vizianagram, the Maharajah of Benares, and other Hindu Gentlemen also contributed largely. The Nizam of Hyderabad endowed the College with the princely sum of Rs. 90,000.]

The noble address presented on this occasion, and Lord Lytton's eloquent reply, are worthy of permanent record. At the dinner which followed, Mr. Keene, in proposing the health of Syed Ahmed Khan said :—

' What they had seen was likely, as far as anything human could be predicted, to form the germ of a very wide and important movement that would live in history, and with it would live the name of the good and excellent man to whose unceasing devotion and labours it was indebted for its origin.]

Syed Ahmed Khan's remarks (in reply) have such an important bearing on a question which is engaging the earnest attention of the National Indian Association, and indeed of all true friends of India that we quote them in full.—He said :—

' Ever since I first began to think of social question in British India it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. I often asked myself how it was that a century of English rule had not brought the natives of this country closer to those in whose hands Providence had placed the guidance of public affairs. (For a whole century and more, you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived; you have breathed the same air; you have drank the same water; you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow-subjects; yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the English and the Natives of this country,

has been most deplorable. And whenever I have considered the causes to which this unsatisfactory state of things is due, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of community of ideas and community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that, so long as this state of things continued, the Mussulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education; and education, in its fullest sense, has been the subject in furthering which I have spent the most earnest moments of my life, and employed the best energies that lay within my humble power.] ✓

...

The College grounds comprise about one hundred acres, enclosed by a handsome stone wall, built in sections seven or eight feet long, on each of which is engraved the name of the donor of the section, amongst which will be found the names of people from all parts of India, of Englishmen, of English women, and even of Hindostani ladies. In like manner every set of students' rooms has above it a stone tablet inscribed with the name of the donor; each set costing Rs. 1,500. Among these are found the names of two English gentlemen. Thus the very stones of this building bear witness to the aspirations of Syed Ahmed Khan, that Englishmen and natives should work side by side as brothers. The buildings, when complete, will form a quadrangle whose interior dimensions will be 1,004 feet, by 576 feet, and will comprise a hall, library, museum, literature-rooms, dining halls, two mosques (one for the Sunnis and the other for the Shias), besides residences for the masters and for the boarders. Only about one-fourth of the buildings are completed.

Colonel Graham recounts in a brief chapter the pluck and heroism of this noble-hearted Mahomedan gentleman, by which the lives of the European residents of Bijnore were saved, at no small risk to himself. Speaking of him Sir John Strachey said:—"No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857; no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed".

In 1858 Syed Ahmed wrote in Urdu, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, which was not, however, translated and published in English till the year 1873. In his preface he says:—

"The following pages, though written in 1858, have not yet been published. I publish them now, as, although many years have elapsed since they were indited, nothing has occurred to cause me to change my

opinions. An honest exposition of native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country with the full concurrence of its inhabitants, and not merely by the sword.'

[There is much in the pamphlet worthy of our earnest consideration, even in the present day; especially the remarks on the friendship, intercourse, and sympathy which should exist between the people of India and the ruling race.] ...

In 1869, Syed Ahmed and his two sons left Bomby for England. Soon after his arrival he was appointed a Companion of the Star of India.

Syed Ahmed's letters from England, published in Urdu in the *Allyahk Institute Gazette*, translations of which are given in this volume, are full of interest. Their quaintness, simplicity, keen observations, catholicity of spirit, kindly humour and graphic power, render them the most readable chapters in the book.

In 1876, after thirty-seven years' service, Syed Ahmed retired on his pension, and took up his abode at AHygurbh. In 1878 Syed Ahmed was, by Lord Lytton, made a member of the Viceroy's Council, an appointment which crowned his long and honourable career. He was re-appointed by Lord Ripon in 1882. Whilst in the Council, he was examined as a witness by the Education Commission of which he and his son Syed Mahmud were members.

We have thus noticed the chief points in the long and useful career of this worthy Indian Gentleman. We heartily commend Colonel Graham's book to our readers, both English and Indian, showing, as it does, "how a native Gentleman of high and distinguished family, but poor, educated only up to his nineteenth year, has raised himself from the lowest rung of the official ladder to the highest, and also educated himself, without the great advantage of a knowledge of English, to become, as he is, the foremost Mohammedan of his day in India".

The volume is adorned by a striking portrait.

(Sd.) J. B. KNIGHT

THE MANCHESTER COURIER AND LANCASHIRE GENERAL.

ADVERTISER, 15th January, 1886.

The history of our Indian Empire and the present relations of this country to its institutions and people are becoming more and more objects of interest and study to the English people. Seeing that our position in India is that of conquerors, and that the subjugated people consist of various races, holding divers religions, opposed to each other and opposed to our own—religions surrounded and encrusted by all the prejudices and superstitions which have grown for centuries, it is not strange that the

problem of our government in India, and the relations of the English to the native races, should still be a matter to tax the energies of the most able and distinguished statesmen. The book before us gives a record of the life and work of a representative, and, in every way, a remarkable man. Syed Ahmed Khan may be said to be the most eminent of her Majesty's Mahomedan subjects in India. Coming of a lineage of princes and great men—rulers among his own race—he has always shown not only unwavering but enthusiastic loyalty to the English Government; and strict and faithful Mahomedan though he be, he has laboured to show those of his own race and faith, where their prejudices hinder the growth of their civilisation, their perfect citizenship and their general well-being. His unshaken adherence to the English supremacy and his thorough knowledge of the natives have made him valuable to both parties; and his unblemished integrity has gained for him the confidence of both. Colonel Graham tells how, at the time of the Mutiny, Syed Ahmed not only remained faithful to his allegiance but saved the lives of many Europeans, and altogether behaved nobly. But this is reckoned as of minor importance compared with the patriotism he has manifested, and the services he has rendered the State since that time, not only in his capacity as a judge and as a member of the Viceregal Council, but also in his writings on religious, social, and political questions in the Urdu tongue. Colonel Graham gives large extracts from English translations of these which call for attention from those interested in Indian matters. There is a pleasing account of the visit of Syed Ahmed to England in 1869, when he brought his son Syed Mahmud to be educated at Cambridge and to read for the bar. The publication of this book is not only to be welcomed because it supplies English readers with a sketch of the character of a remarkable and important Indian personage, but its circulation in India should do much to incline and encourage young men of the native races to a like career.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW 13TH FEBRUARY, 1886.

It may be doubted whether the growing practice of writing copious biographies of individuals still living is calculated to raise the standard of such works. It may be inconvenient and difficult to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth about men moving and working amongst us. "With the dead there is no rivalry" and "in the dead there is no change." But if there were no exceptions to our remarks, we should make one for the memoir now before us. We have had lately such extraordinary proposals for what is termed "the regeneration of India," such amazing discoveries of the hidden capacities of natives, for managing not only all

their own affairs but the complicated machinery of government, and such audacious attempts on the part of the delegates of a narrow set to represent an imaginary nationality, that this work comes aptly to show us what can be done by an educated native who unites devotion to his co-religionists with genuine loyalty to the State. The ancestors of Syed Ahmed were, as Colonel Graham, his biographer, truly says, "men of mark under the Mogul Empire." His grandfather was what Bernier or Abul Fazl would have termed a *mansabdar*, and commanded a nominal force of one thousand foot and five hundred horsemen. His father was a recluse; a *tariq-i-duniya*; or one who had resigned worldly affairs and despised Court favours. Syed Ahmed himself was, however, brought up in the very precincts of the palace at Delhi, owing to the influence possessed by his maternal grandfather. Entering the service of the British Government in 1839 against the wish of his friends, he became familiarized with the routine of business in the civil and criminal departments; was made a Munsif, or subordinate Civil Judge, in 1841; and in this capacity was posted successively to Futtehpore Sikri, Delhi, Rohtak, and Bijnore. He was stationed at the last place when the Mutiny broke out in 1857; and a careless observer might have confidently predicted that a man of his descent, education, and family traditions would have secretly or openly favoured the mutineers at Delhi, and would have acted with some rebellious Pathan or Nawab in Bijnore itself. Nothing of the sort apparently entered into the Syed's head. At the risk of his own life he protected the English residents, endeavoured to persuade a wavering Mahomedan of influence and position to take part with the British; lost property, friends and relatives in the struggle; accompanied an English avenging force; and never for one moment wavered in his loyalty and allegiance. It is satisfactory to learn that he has been rewarded by the grant of a pension for two lives; that he has risen higher in the judicial service; that he has visited and been well received in England; that he has been for four years—that is, twice the ordinary period—a member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; that he has received the Companionship of the Star of India; and that he still lives in honoured retirement at Aligurh, where he has himself founded a Mahomedan or Anglo-Oriental College, primarily for the instruction of men of his own creed, but open to other classes—Hindus, and even Christians. This institution is really a monument of sagacity and benevolence.

The career of such a man is valuable in two aspects. For years past it has been a subject of constant complaint on the part of the Mahomedans that they are completely beaten by Hindus in competition for employment. For one Mussulman in our schools and colleges we find ten

Hindus. The latter—supple, intelligent, acute, and pushing—never learn Sanskrit, often write their own dialect very indifferently, obtain wonderful fluency in writing and speaking English, plead successfully at the Bar, become expert accountants, and adorn the Bench by their probity and legal learning. A Mussulman, on the other hand, takes to Persian and reads and quotes Sadi as an educated Englishman used to read and quote Horace. If he is intended for the public service, or if he aspires to a high education, he must study Arabic. To require that on the top of these classical languages, one of them very difficult to master, he should become a first-rate English scholar, is to require a very great deal. Then, rightly or wrongly, he is constantly credited by a proportion of the English officials with disaffection and discontent. [He has, it is urged, reminiscences of Mogul splendour and supremacy. He sighs for the touch of the vanished hand of Delhi. He broods over real and imaginary wrongs. It is his own fault if he is outstripped by men of an older religion but more alive to a new order of things; and so on. It is one of the merits of Syed Ahmed's life and work that he has shown how far these allegations are true or false; what causes have really kept Mahomedans in the background; what the Government can do to remove obstructions and disabilities and to give them fair play; and what they can do themselves to get out of the fetters of antiquated tradition.] This is the first lesson taught by the Life. The second is addressed practically to the English Ruler. Here we have, almost for the first time, the clear, vigorous, honest opinion of a native gentleman of learning, experience, and loyalty, on the popularity or unpopularity of a rule of aliens. [Syed Ahmed has a good deal to say on the causes of the Mutiny; on the tendency of our legislation; on our educational policy; on the difficulties experienced by civilians and military men in getting at the real wants of the masses; and on the necessity for meeting such wants and requirements when they have been ascertained. Let us first hear what the Syed has to say about a Mutiny which fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and when put down puzzled some of the shrewdest intellects in India to say why it happened. At the close of 1858 Syed Ahmed published a pamphlet in the Urdu language tracing the Mutiny to five great causes: misapprehension by the people of the intentions of Government; the passing of laws and regulations objectionable and ill-suited to the community; ignorance in the Government of native wants and grievances; failure of sympathy between the rulers and their subjects; and the bad management of the army, under which head he includes the paucity of English soldiers.] It is satisfactory to find Syed Ahmed scouting the notion that the annexation of Oudh led to the rebellion, and pointing

ing out that "not one of the great landed princes espoused the rebel cause." So much nonsense has been written about Lord Dalhousie's high-handed policy that it is reassuring to have the opinion of a qualified witness to the contrary. But when we are gravely told that the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council was the "original cause of the outbreak," we merely understand Syed Ahmed to mean that, with natives in a Legislative Council the Government is less likely to pass a foolish, unnecessary, or harsh law. And most certainly the Bengal Tenancy Bill of 1884-5 was vastly improved by the dissection to which it was subjected by the native and independent members of Lord Ripon's Council. With more point does the Syed dwell on the discontent caused by the inquiry into alienated and rent-free tenures which in the older provinces began about 1828 and lasted for more than a dozen years; on the practice of selling the old acres of defaulting proprietors in the North-West Provinces, and letting in the new men, bankers and money-grubbers, through sales in the Revenue or successful actions in the Civil Courts; and on the levelling character of our authority, and the occasional harsh and unsympathetic action of those who enforce it. There is a fair amount of truth in all these explanations; and it is just to the Syed to state that, on the other hand, he reproves his countrymen sharply for their unlucky habit of abusing the Government in private for an offensive law or an obnoxious manifesto, and then assuring the Commissioner or the Judge in a morning call that the quality of justice dispensed by the English was like that of Naushiryan, and their generosity only paralleled by that of Hatim Tai. The Syed makes a series of good points when he gives a catalogue of men of his own religion who, as Colonel Graham says, "stood by us staunchly in the Mutiny." It is too long for recital, but the list might be easily extended. Readers of Mr. Thornhill's experiences will remember the fidelity of Dilawar Khan, who guided that gentleman on his midnight ride from Mathura to Delhi. The good offices of the late Nawab Amair Ali with Mr. E. Samuells in Behar ought not to be forgotten, and the long services and loyalty of Moulavi Abdul Latif of Calcutta have recently been rewarded by an appropriate title. In fact, the Mutiny could never be fairly designated as an attempt on the part of Mussulmans to recover their lost power. Many Moguls and Pathans were no doubt to be found fighting in the rebel ranks and the "Moulavi" kept our commanders on the alert for some months in Rohilkund. But no Mussulman, as far as we can recollect, ever put himself beyond the pale of Lord Canning's amnesty by the atrocities proved against the Rani of Jhansi and the fiend of Bithoor.

The more serious portion of this biography is relieved by the letters which the Syed himself wrote of the experiences which he details about his visit to England. They are amusing without being ludicrous; and if they remind us of the imaginary adventures of Haji Baba in England in Morier's tale, they are not rendered offensive by the lofty and patronizing tone so often adopted by Hindu law students, professional agitators and candidates for Parliament. In April 1869 the Syed went to England on special leave, and he describes his journey by land and by sea, Bombay, Aden, Marseilles, his lodgings in London, and his reception by the Secretary of State for India, with much observancy and candour. The Indian Ocean, we are sorry to say, produced its usual effect on the Syed and his attendants. He felt qualms himself, and had his suspicions that it had not been all right with his servant Chajju. Mahmud and Hamid, the Syed's two sons, were, as the Syed would have said in his own dialect, *la-char* and *be-hosh*. Aden is gravely described as a place which by dint of work and expenditure had been turned into a paradise from something exactly the opposite. The Somalis spoke very indifferent Arabic, or at least a dialect of it, which a learned Mahomedan from Lucknow and Delhi could scarcely make out. In the Red Sea he was drenched by a wave which came in at a porthole, but he was afterwards comforted by the sight of Mount Sinai, or what the Mahomedans call Jebel-Musa. After this everything was smooth. The "splendid coffee" of Egypt, dashed with cows' milk—it is as often that of the camel—the richness of the crops under irrigation, the magnificence of the steamer *Poona*, with its captain, who had picked up a slight knowledge of Urdu; an introduction to M. de Lesseps, who spoke a little Arabic; the experiences of a Pathani ayah or nurse to the children of Mr., now Sir G. Couper, Bart., on her twenty-first trip to Europe; the beauty of the coasts of Italy and Sicily; and the spectacle of twelve French line-of-battle ships manoeuvring off Toulon—all combined to make this part of the voyage one of pure pleasure. Even the Mediterranean was propitious, its sea being "like water in a cup." Marseilles was another source of delight. The illuminations at the Dewali in India seemed insignificant when compared with French shops and streets lit up at night. At two brilliant shops the Syed thought that a marriage ceremony must have been going on. He was surprised to learn that these places were merely cafes where even workmen could refresh themselves. At the Zoological Gardens of Marseilles he recognized a familiar object in an elephant of moderate size, but very thin, and shut up in a house. Accustomed as he was to the sobriety and order of a Sunday in India, when all offices are closed, as are the shops in European quarters, he did not at first discover that

everything worth seeing might be seen in Paris on that day. Versailles, with its fountains, lakes, animals spouting water from their heads, sculptures and paintings, quite eclipsed the Dewan-i-Khass at Delhi, the Mehtab Bagh pond with its 360 fountains, and the gardens and summer palaces of Deeg. The Syed, like a true Oriental sage, saw the bed on which Lewis XIV. died, and pondered over the instability (*nasaikdari*) of this vain world. The only unlucky result of the Sunday trip to Versailles was that the faithful servant Chajju, who had been left behind in Paris, had begun to cry at his master's prolonged absence. We have no room for the letters in which the Syed details his visit to the India Office and his life in London. We are, however, just able to state that the Syed went to the Derby, was treated with much consideration by the Duke of Argyll; then at the India Office, and that at his London lodgings Anne Smith and Elizabeth Matthews did the cooking, set the fires, arranged the papers, and behaved towards their distinguished lodgers with the utmost attention and propriety. Few things seem to have pleased the Syed so much as to find domestic servants reading *Punch*, and cabmen who, as he aptly suggests, correspond to the *ekhawalas* of Benares and Patna, scanning the journals while waiting for a fare.

We are glad to record that one of the Syed's sons is now a judge of the High Court of the N.-W. Provinces, while another has a good post in the Executive Department. The part which the Syed took in debates, of which selections are given, show of course perfect familiarity with native habits and court practice, and he was clear and decisive as to compulsory vaccination. A deputation of humanitarian propagators of disease would have made no impression on him. His speeches and letters, if not perfect models of English, are manly and perspicuous, and he did not begin to study our language till he was long past thirty. It is probable that he will have some difficulty in overcoming the apathy and prejudices of his fellow-Mahomedans, and that the reforms of our own administrators may appear to him to move slowly. But there is nothing of the noisy, vapouring, unpractical Baboo about him. He doubts very much whether "competent and impartial arbitrators" can be found in villages, and thinks a decision by a competent and salaried judge a far better termination to a lawsuit. It only remains for us to say that Colonel Graham has fulfilled his self-imposed task with tact and fairness, and that this biography, whether we judge it by actual results or by its powerful example, justifies the writer in terming it the biography of a man who for eloquence, discernment, learning, and loyalty is the "foremost Mahomedan of his day in India."

THE BROAD ARROW 13TH FEBRUARY, 1888.

To be told as Colonel Graham tells his readers in the opening page of this work, that Syed Ahmed Khan is "the foremost Mahomedan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow men, and literary ability," since the death of Sir Salar Jung, sounds like the exaggerated praise of a biographer who has no mental perspective. Remembering that Sir Salar Jung was the Prime Minister of the most powerful Mahomedan State in India, that he was a man of conspicuous ability, that he kept in check the unruly nobles of the Nizam's Dominions for many years, that above all he had sagacity enough to perceive, even in the darkest days of the Sepoy revolt, that England must win, and that it was for the best interests of India that England should win—remembering all this, one is tempted to think that the biographer of Syed Ahmed Khan must have exhibited the usual partiality of biographers for their heroes. That was the impression which the words produced on us when we first read them, but having perused the book, we have come to the conclusion that Colonel Graham has, instead of exaggerating, underestimated the merits of this eminent native gentleman. [His whole career has been a blessing to the natives of Upper India. Two objects appear to have animated his life—one to make the rulers and the ruled understand each other better, in order that there might be an enlightened Government and a contented people; the other that his countrymen should learn the arts and sciences of the West, so that they may make a fresh spring forward in all that constitutes true civilisation. These, we say, appear to have been the two chief objects of Syed Ahmed Khan's life, and they have been attended with most remarkable success.] Had he been influenced by his antecedents, he would have cast in his lot with others of his co-religionists during the Mutiny. His ancestors were men of mark under the Mogul Empire. He himself, on his father's death in 1836, was invested by Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi, with his grandfather's titles, corresponding to our ranks of duke, earl, and baron, and with the additional one of Arif Jang, or Master of War. He was then seventeen years of age, and a year later entered, much against the inclination of his relatives, the British service as Sheristadar, or reader, in the criminal department of the native judge's office in Delhi. In the course of time he became a chief native judge, later on a member of the Viceroy's Council, which distinguished post he now holds, and he has a son who is one of the judges in the High Court of Appeal of the North-West Provinces—a son who in his way is as remarkable as the father, for, when at Cambridge, Syed Mahmud gained the prize for the best essay on English literature. This is a bare outline of

Syed Ahmed Khan's career, but to understand what manner of man he is, a few more details must be added. He is a voluminous writer. His works on archaeology have gained him the distinction of being unanimously elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He has written a commentary on the Bible in many volumes, and though a devout Mussulman, quotes St. Paul with approval. He has written a history of Wahabiism, vindicating the Mahomedans from the attacks of Dr. Hunter, showing that that learned author has mistaken political for religious causes of discontent, and proving that a Mussulman as a Mussulman is bound to be loyal to a Government which respects his religion. In addition to these works he has contributed numerous articles to native newspapers and magazines.] ✓

And lastly, he has written a work on "The Causes of the Indian Revolt," extracts from which are given by Colonel Graham. These will be read with deep interest by those who desire to obtain a true insight into the events which led to that mighty and calamitous struggle. Syed Ahmed was himself in the thick of the revolt. By his courage and strategy he saved the lives of the Europeans who were at Bijnore when the revolt occurred, casting in his lot with the British, and acting as loyally as if he had been an Englishman. For those services he was rewarded by the Government, and for those services his property in Delhi was destroyed by the rebels.] Colonel Graham tells a touching story of this period of Syed Ahmed's career :—

✓ Towards the end of September he visited his home at Delhi, just after the taking of the city. On reaching his house, he heard that his mother had taken refuge in one of her sycce's (horse-attendant's) houses, and he followed her there. On his calling out to her, she opened the door, crying out, "Why have you come here? All are being killed. You will be killed also!" He told her not to be afraid, as he had a special pass. He then found out that for five days she had been living on the horses' grain, and was very weak. For three days she had had no water. He hurried off to the fort, and brought a jug of water. An old female servant who was with his mother, and who was also suffering intensely from thirst, was first met by him on his return, and he poured out some water for her, and told her to drink. The faithful old woman told him to take it to her mistress, saying that she required it most. Syed Ahmed made her drink, and the poor woman, after drinking a little, fell back, and in a few moments was a corpse! Syed Ahmed's distress may be imagined. He took his mother back with him to Meerut, but the shock and anxiety of mind that she had suffered durin

the siege and at the assault were too much for her, and she died a month afterwards.]

As to the causes of the revolt, Syed Ahmed effectually disposes of those who contend that it was a mere mutiny of sepoys and not a rebellion of the people. He shows in detail that for a long period many grievances had been ranking in the hearts of the people, and that in course of time a vast quantity of explosive material had been collected. "It wanted but the application of a match to light it, and that match was applied by the mutinous army." He shows, too, that while the Government was animated by the best intentions, it legislated in complete ignorance of the wishes of the people, and he explains how the people misinterpreted the acts of the Government. Neither rulers nor ruled understood each other, the former held aloof from the latter, forgetting that in India they were in the position of foreigners—"that they differed from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought." And his great remedy, a remedy on which he is never tired of insisting, is that the rulers must try to understand the people, and treat them with courtesy. Before he visited England this was his constant theme, but after he had visited this country he understood why too many Englishmen in India treat the natives with impatient contempt. Nevertheless he urged that, though the natives were not entitled to politeness on the score of their ability, they should not be treated badly, because in so doing Englishmen detracted from their own high character and placed obstacles in the way of civilisation. Though rather long, we must make an extract from a letter written while in London, where [Syed Ahmed expresses these opinions :—

It is nearly six months since I arrived in London; and although, owing to want of means, I have been unable to see many things that I should have liked to see, I have still been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of lords and dukes at dinners and evening parties. I have also mixed a good deal in that middle-class society to which I myself belong. I have seen many ladies of high family and first-rate education. I have also observed the habits and customs and way of living of high and low, and seen the warehouses of great merchants, the shops of the smaller ones, the method of their storing and selling their wares, and the manner in which they treat their customers. Artisans and the common working-man I have seen in numbers. I have visited fatuous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war—in one

of which I walked for miles, the *Great Eastern Steamship*—have been present at the meetings of several societies, and have dined at clubs and private houses. The result of all this is that, although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinions of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. Do you look upon an animal as a thing to be honoured? do you think it necessary to treat an animal courteously, or the reverse? You do not! We have no right to courteous treatment. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in, and in what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception. What I have seen, and see daily, is utterly beyond the imagination of a native of India. If any of my countrymen do not believe what I say, you may certainly put them down as frogs and fishes. Can a man who has been born blind imagine the appearance of the sunlight or the glorious light of the moon? There was once a living fish that fell from a fisherman into a well in which were a number of frogs. When they saw a new traveller, white in colour, and glittering like silver, they behaved very kindly to him, and asked where he came from. The fish said that he was a native of the Ganges. The frogs asked the fish if his watery country was similar to theirs, to which the fish answered in the affirmative, adding that it was a bright, good country, swept by a fine wind, which raised waves in which fishes were rocked as in a swing, and disported themselves, and that it was very broad and long. On hearing this, a frog came out a foot from the side of the well and said, "What! as long and as broad as the distance I have come from the well?" The fish said, "Much greater." The frog came another foot out, and again put his question to the fish, which said, "Much greater." The frog went on, getting the same answer the farther he went, until he got to the opposite side of the well. Again asking his question, the fish gave the same reply. The frog said, "You lie; it cannot be larger than this." Just at this moment a man let down a bucket and drew water, thus causing small waves on the surface. The frog asked the

fish if his country's waves were as large, on which the fish laughed, saying, " Those things that you have never seen, and which it is impossible for you to imagine, cannot be thought of by you without seeing. Why, therefore, do you ask about them ? ". I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialities of our respective countries, we and the English differ. I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship, accomplishments, and thoroughness, which are the results of education and civilisation. All good things, spiritual and worldly, which shall be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the English carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one, with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excellence. If Hindustanis can only attain to civilisation, it will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become, if not superior, at least the equal of England.]

We should have liked to tell the story of how Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurb, where his countrymen receive a Western education in their own language, works on science, arts and industry having been translated from English into Urdu under his direction for that purpose, but space forbids. His *sabre*, however, in which his opinion is conveyed as to the relative positions of England and Egypt at the present time, must be quoted.

Our position in Egypt reminds me of the man who lived by picking up flotsam and jetsam on the Indus. One day he was sitting with some of his friends, when he saw something black floating down the river which looked like a black blanket. He swam out and seized it, but found to his horror that it was a black bear, which at once hugged him. The man struggled hard, but could not escape, and was going down, when his friends saw his struggles, and thinking that the blanket was too heavy for him, called out to him to let it go. " All very well," cried the despairing man, " but the blanket won't let me go !" England, said Syed Ahmed, is the man, and Egypt the bear.

Enough has been said to show that this is a book which should be read by all Englishmen who desire to know how the depths are being stirred in what Matthew Arnold once called " the brooding East." And it should especially be read by all Englishmen, official or otherwise, whose lot may be cast in India, because they will learn from it the beauty and benefits of courteous conduct to their dusky fellow-subjects of the Queen-Empress.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, 4TH MARCH, 1886.

Whether the rising generation reads and benefits as much as it might do by the biographies prepared in endless abundance of late is a doubtful question. For the guidance of the erratic genius of native Indian youth, the story of a few instructive and commendable lives might well be serviceable. This has been the object with which Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. I. Graham has prepared a "Life and Works of Syed Ahmed Khan, C. S. I." (Blackwood). Such records as this must be useful to the ever-increasing array of young educated natives, if they will only use them; and by bringing prominently under their notice men of light and leading, of their own complexion and kindred, they will recognise how much may be done by private individuals towards promoting the culture as well as well-being of the magnificent Empire in which they live. They will see, too, the advisability of lending an enlightened support to the dominant Government in its efforts towards improvement, in preference to vituperating it through a trivial and hysterical native press. Since the death of Sir Salar Jung there have been few Mohanmedans in India of more ability or learning than Syed Ahmed. Born at Delhi in October, 1817, he entered the British service in 1837, soon evincing a cultivated mind in the researches he made, and the volumes published on "The Archaeological History of Delhi." His letters from England with many other writings on matters of the first importance to the Mohammedans of India, of whom he has always been the eloquent champion and counsellor, are well-known and have justly spread his reputation at home and abroad. In 1869, when on a visit to this country, he received the honour of a Companionship of the Star of India. Lord Lawrence remarked at the time that it was well deserved. His great work of combating the prejudices of his countrymen against the acquisition of modern science and art is still unfinished. [He saw the weakness that had crept over Mohammedans through their estrangement from the thoughts and aspirations of the nineteenth century, and he attempted to change, not their dogmas, but their policy, so that independence of mind should no longer necessarily be counted as a sign of heterodoxy.] The best parts of his career, with the principles which have governed it, may well serve as a guide to young India.
